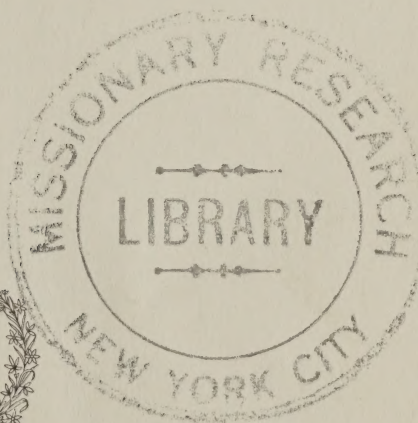


Pam
India
(Kashmir)

KASHMIR —

INDIA'S GROWING ISOLATION

(Recent Statements by Governments)



BACKGROUND REPORT . . .

THE HISTORY OF THE

The history of the city of London and the county of Middlesex, from the earliest times to the present, is a subject of great interest and importance. It is a subject which has attracted the attention of many writers, and which has been the subject of many valuable works. The history of the city of London and the county of Middlesex is a subject which has attracted the attention of many writers, and which has been the subject of many valuable works.

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INTRODUCTION

THE Indo-Pakistan dispute on the state of Jammu and Kashmir came up before the United Nations Security Council in January 1948. On April 21, 1948, the Council adopted a resolution calling for a plebiscite under United Nations' auspices to settle the question of the accession of the disputed state to India or Pakistan in accordance with the wishes of the people of the state.

The U.N. Commission for India and Pakistan, which was set up by the Security Council with the full agreement of the Governments of India and Pakistan, visited the sub-continent in the spring of 1948 to work out a plan for the holding of the plebiscite. On August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949, the Commission adopted two resolutions setting forth steps to facilitate the holding of a free and impartial plebiscite to decide the question of the state's accession to India or Pakistan. These resolutions, which were freely accepted by both India and Pakistan, constitute an international agreement between the two countries.

The promised plebiscite is yet to be held. While paying lip-service to it for some years after the adoption of the U.N. resolutions, India put forward one excuse after the other to prevent the people of Jammu and Kashmir from expressing their wishes. To break the ensuing deadlock, several proposals have been made by the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, leaders of the Commonwealth and U.N. Representatives. *Pakistan accepted each one of these proposals. India rejected them all.*

In the late 50s, India completely reneged on its past pledges. It now argues that no dispute exists with regard to the state of Jammu and Kashmir; the U.N. resolutions on the subject are obsolete; and that the state is an integral part of Indian territory.

That India's stand is wholly inconsistent and a violation of international obligations will be clear from the following pages which reproduce the latest pronouncements made on the Kashmir dispute by the Governments of a number of countries.

THE PHILIPPINES

THE Foreign Secretary [of the Philippines] and the Foreign Minister [of Pakistan] agreed that the Kashmir dispute between Pakistan and India involved the question of fundamental rights of the people of Kashmir and that this dispute inhibits the establishment of friendly relations between Pakistan and India to the disadvantage of the development of solidarity between Afro-Asian countries. The two Ministers agreed on the need for an early solution of the dispute in accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir as envisaged in the resolutions of the Security Council of the United Nations which have been accepted by both Pakistan and India.

*From the Joint Communique
issued at Manila
on April 18, 1964*

INDONESIA

THE two Foreign Ministers [of Indonesia and Pakistan] reiterated their consensus to the ten principles included in the declaration of the promotion of world peace and cooperation adopted at the Bandung Conference.

In this context they recalled with regret that the dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir has not been solved peacefully and might even constitute a threat to the peace and stability in the region. They agreed that this dispute involved the question of fundamental rights of the people of Kashmir and that this dispute impaired the growth of friendly relations between Pakistan and India affecting also the development of Asian-African solidarity. The two Foreign Ministers, therefore, called for an early solution of this dispute in accordance with the wishes of the people of the state and other provisions as envisaged in Security Council resolutions which were accepted by both India and Pakistan.

*From the Joint Communique
issued at Jakarta
on April 15, 1964*

YOUR case is based on justice and fairplay
which we are committed to support everywhere.

*King Hussein of Jordan in audience
with the leader of the Kashmir dele-
gation on April 7, 1964.*

IRAQ

THE President of Pakistan explained the current situation in regard to Kashmir. The President of Iraq evinced a deep understanding and expressed the hope that the dispute will be resolved early in accordance with the spirit of Afro-Asian solidarity and in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter and the United Nations resolutions.

*From the Joint Communique
issued at Rawalpindi
on March 26, 1964*

TUNISIA

I HAVE followed the details of the Kashmir problem since 1947 . . . (We uphold) the principle of self-determination—a principle that we shall always uphold and which we have supported in the Kashmir issue. . . . A large country like India should act as an example in respecting the United Nations . . . Despite our respect for Mahatma Gandhi's work and Mr. Nehru's freedom struggle, we have clearly explained, in our correspondence to the Indian Prime Minister, that we cannot approve of India's policy on this particular issue and that we remain firm on our stand that we have taken . . .

*From the
declaration of President
Bourgiba of Tunisia,
broadcast on March 19,
1964.*

CHINA

THE President [of Pakistan] and the Prime Minister [of China] agreed that the border dispute between India and China should and can be resolved peacefully through negotiations. They expressed the hope that the Kashmir dispute would be resolved in accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir as pledged to them by India and Pakistan. It would be of no avail to deny the existence of these disputes and to adopt the big-nation chauvinistic attitude of imposing one's will on others.

*From the Joint Communique
issued at Rawalpindi
on February 24, 1964*

BRAZIL

THE Security Council has adopted a number of resolutions in the past the validity of which has not been impaired by the passing of time. They continue to represent the will of the Council until a new and fresh approach to the problem is undertaken by the parties concerned through direct negotiations or through the Security Council with the concurring views of India and Pakistan.

* * * * *

As to the question of self-determination for Kashmir, the principle in itself is a cherished one which my Government recognizes as fundamental to the building of a world of peace. We have been faithful to this principle in all those circumstances in which its application was valid.

We are told that a plebiscite would raise more problems than it would solve. We are not in a position to judge what the impact of the full implementation of the principle of self-determination of Kashmir would be throughout the Indian sub-continent. One thing, however, remains true and evident to us: no settlement of any territorial question will last in peace if the will of the people who live and toil in these lands is not fully respected.

The principles embodied in the past resolutions of the Security Council should, accordingly, be observed by both parties. That should mean also that unilateral measures taken against the provisions of the Security Council resolutions should be avoided in order to create and further an atmosphere of mutual confidence which is lacking nowadays, as we can see from the opposing views expressed during this debate.

*From the statement by
the delegate of Brazil
in the U.N. Security Council
on February 15, 1964*

THE UNITED STATES

I SHOULD like today to review the essentials of the approach which my Government has taken, and continues to take, toward this everlasting question of Kashmir. The origin of the dispute is complicated and deeply buried in the history of the great sub-continent. But, in 1948, India and Pakistan agreed to the UNCIP [United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan] resolutions as a political compromise of the difficulties which followed from the partition of the sub-continent into two countries and the ensuing dispute over the status of Kashmir. The essence of this compromise was that the people of Jammu and Kashmir should have the right to determine their future without coercion or intimidation by the military forces of either country. Our support of the United Nations resolutions is based on this principle of self-determination. The political compromise has not been fulfilled and so we have seen no progress—only further embitterment of relations between these two great countries.

Throughout the history of this issue, it has been the desire of the United States to do what it could to compose the differences between two friends. In doing so, we have started from the point of agreement between them, because it was an equitable compromise based upon the sound principle that the people whose political affiliation and national status were subject to dispute have the right to express their will. We continue to support this principle as providing a sound basis upon which a political compromise of the dispute between India and Pakistan can be achieved through peaceful means.

*From the statement
by the delegate of the
United States of America
on February 14, 1964*

NORWAY

MY country is reminded of the long and sad story of this item in the records of the Security Council by the fact that the Council was actively seized of the India-Pakistan question when Norway last served on the Council fourteen years ago. The core of the problem is still the political future of the former state of Jammu and Kashmir of British India. The resolutions adopted over the years by the Security Council and the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan have not been rescinded or abrogated; they therefore remain valid and represent the views expressed by the United Nations on the problem. To us the question of Kashmir clearly has an important international aspect, since two great nations, both members of the United Nations, are directly involved.

From these basic facts we derive the following general conclusions: that a final settlement of the Kashmir question must be satisfactory to the population of Jammu and Kashmir; and that, likewise, the main features of the settlement must be acceptable both to India and to Pakistan.

*From the statement by
the delegate of Norway in
the U.N. Security Council
on February 14, 1964*

THE UNITED KINGDOM

FIRST, I wish to reiterate my Government's position on the status of Kashmir and on the question of self-determination. This was made clear most recently by our sponsorship of the resolution adopted by the Security Council on January 24, 1957, which reminded the Governments and authorities concerned of the principle embodied in the Security Council's resolutions of April 21, 1948, June 3, 1948, March 14, 1950 and March 30, 1951, and the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1959, that the final disposition of the state of Jammu and Kashmir will be made in accordance with the will of the people, expressed through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the United Nations.

My Government stands firmly by the principles enunciated in that resolution today.

We consider it unrealistic to consider the status of Kashmir purely in terms of the legal effect of the Maharajah's instrument of accession. It is, in our view, impossible to leave out of consideration fifteen years of discussion in this Council and the decisions taken by it.

In short, my Government does not accept the contention that no dispute now exists and that there remains in Kashmir nothing to be negotiated. Quite the contrary. A dispute does exist, which should be made subject to negotiation with due regard to previous Security Council resolutions and to the wishes of the people most directly concerned, namely the people of Kashmir.

*From the statement by the
delegate of the United Kingdom
in the U.N. Security Council
on February 10, 1964*

MOROCCO

I_N the perspective of a solution to this grave problem, and so as to restrict as far as possible the scope of the crisis, my delegation feels that it would be extremely desirable for the two Governments to refrain, from now on, from undertaking any unilateral action of any sort whatsoever which might create new complications or which might challenge, in one way or another, the decisions which the Security Council has already taken in agreement with the parties concerned and which the parties agreed to co-operate in implementing.

* * * * *

The firm wish of my Government to do everything to eliminate all the difficulties arising from this conflict is equalled only by our desire to see the two parties agree to sit down together at a table and arrive at a solution based on the respect of rights, and particularly the right of peoples to self-determination.

*From the statement by the
delegate of Morocco in the
U.N. Security Council
on February 10, 1964*

IVORY COAST

WE accept all the resolutions of the Security Council, and we recognize their dynamic character.

We reaffirm our support of the sacred principle of self-determination.

* * * * *

The Council should request the two countries to resume their negotiations with a view to working out a peaceful solution of all their differences, including the question of Kashmir, taking into account the action already taken in the past by the United Nations and having regard to the wishes of the peoples concerned.

*From the statement
by the delegate of the Ivory Coast
in the U.N. Security Council
on February 10, 1964*

CEYLON

SUBSCRIBING to the belief that all international disputes should be settled expeditiously and by peaceful means, the two leaders [President Ayub Khan of Pakistan and Prime Minister Sirima Bandaranaike of Ceylon] agreed that the disputes among countries in this region should be settled in a fair and equitable manner in order to promote harmonious and friendly relations between neighboring countries and to strengthen the solidarity of the Afro-Asian countries in the interest of world peace.

In this respect they recalled with regret the dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir and agreed that its expeditious solution in accordance with U.N. resolutions or by other peaceful means would be in the interest of peace in the sub-continent and in the region.

*From the Joint Communique
issued at Colombo
on December 15, 1963*

Information Division
Embassy of Pakistan
Washington, D. C.
April, 1964